

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 057868
ORIGIN AF-08

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 057868

FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SF, US, CA, UK, GW, FR

SUBJECT: FIVE POWER APPROACH ON NAMIBIA

1. SECRETARY VANCE AND DAVID OWEN DISCUSSED ON MARCH 11
A FIVE POWER APPROACH TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ON
NAMIBIA. THE SCENARIO FOR THE APPROACH AND A DRAFT OUTLINE
WERE DISCUSSED WITH THE BRITISH THE FOLLOWING DAY. WE HAVE
LEARNED FROM LONDON THAT BRITISH MINISTERS HAVE APPROVED
THE CONCEPT OF PRESENTING OUR VIEWS TO SOUTH AFRICA ON A
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FIVE POWER BASIS AS WELL AS OUR DRAFT OUTLINE AND
INSTRUCTIONS ARE BEING SENT TO IVOR RICHARD. FOLLOWING
CONSULTATIONS IN NEW YORK BETWEEN OURSELVES, THE BRITISH,
CANADIANS, WEST GERMANS AND FRENCH, WE AND THE BRITISH
FORESEE AN APPROACH BY THE FIVE POWERS BEING GIVEN JOINTLY
OR INDIVIDUALLY THROUGH AMBASSADORS IN CAPE TOWN.

2. ACCORDINGLY, WE SUGGEST YOU INITIATE THE CONSULTATION PROCESS IN NEW YORK FIRST BY COORDINATING YOUR EFFORTS WITH THE BRITISH AND THEN BY CONVENING YOUR FRENCH, UK, CANADIAN AND FRG COLLEAGUES AND SEEKING THEIR AGREEMENT TO THE FOREGOING COURSE OF ACTION.

3. IN COMMENTING ON THE DRAFT APPROACH TO YOUR COLLEAGUES, WE SUGGEST YOU MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. OUR OBJECTIVE IS AN AGREED TEXT. THE VERSION BEING SUBMITTED FOR THEIR CONSIDERATION IS, OF COURSE, SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATION.

B. THE PURPOSE OF THE APPROACH IS TO CONVINCE THE SOUTH AFRICANS THAT THEY MUST PURSUE A COURSE OF ACTION IN NAMIBIA WHICH IS CONSISTENT WITH SC RESOLUTION 385 AND WHICH WILL RESULT IN A POLITICAL SOLUTION ACCEPTABLE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. ACCORDINGLY, THE APPROACH MUST HAVE TEETH AND SUGGEST TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS THAT IN THE ABSENCE ON THEIR PART OF CONCESSIONS TO THE VIEWS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THEY INEVITABLY WILL BE RISKING AN EARLY DETERIORATION IN RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE WEST.

C. THIS APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICA IS SEEN AS POSSIBLY THE FIRST OF A SERIES AND IS THUS COMPATIBLE WITH FUTURE SC ACTION ON NAMIBIA, INCLUDING A COMPREHENSIVE DECLARATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA.

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4. AS YOU ARE AWARE, THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE SUGGESTED THAT SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM CONSULT WITH ALL THE PARTIES TO THE NAMIBIAN DISPUTE AND VISIT NAMIBIA WITH A VIEW TO MAKING A RECOMMENDATION TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON FURTHER ACTION. THE SOUTH AFRICAN SUGGESTION IS INTERESTING. BUT WE BELIEVE WALDHEIM IS UNLIKELY TO RESPOND UNLESS HE FEELS HE HAS THE BACKING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. ACCORDINGLY, WE AND THE BRITISH AGREED THAT AT THIS EARLY PHASE WE SHOULD DO NO MORE THAN TRY TO FIND OUT WHAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT SEES AS THE PURPOSE OF WALDHEIM'S MISSION.

5. WE WISH TO PURSUE ACTIVELY INVITING WALDHEIM AND WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR EXPLORING WITH YOUR FRENCH, BRITISH, CANADIAN AND GERMAN COLLEAGUES HOW THE SECRETARY GENERAL OR HIS REPRESENTATIVE COULD BE INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS AND ON WHAT BASIS. HE COULD, FOR EXAMPLE, BE ASKED TO VISIT THE TERRITORY, CONSULT ALL INTERESTED PARTIES, INCLUDING SWAPO, AND MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE

SECURITY COUNCIL. WE LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR SUGGESTIONS ON THIS SUBJECT AFTER YOUR TALKS WITH YOUR FIVE POWER COLLEAGUES.

6. ASSUMING YOUR WESTERN COLLEAGUES CONCUR, WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO YOUR BRIEFING THE PARTICIPANTS AT YOUR THURSDAY MORNING MEETING ON THE GIST OF THE PROPOSED FIVE POWER APPROACH. WE ASSUME YOUR WESTERN COLLEAGUES WILL WANT TO WITHHOLD THE ACTUAL TEXT FROM THE AFRICANS UNTIL

THERE IS FULL FIVE POWER AGREEMENT ON ITS CONTENT. IN THAT CONNECTION, YOU MIGHT IMPRESS ON YOUR WESTERN COLLEAGUES THE NEED TO RESPOND QUICKLY TO OUR PROPOSED TEXT. FOLLOWING THEIR RESPONSES, AND ANY FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WOULD BE NECESSARY, WE WOULD WELCOME YOUR RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE SCENARIO, THE TEXT OF THE APPROACH, AND THE METHOD OF DELIVERY FOR OUR APPROVAL. WE ASSUME THE
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FRENCH, GERMANS, BRITISH AND CANADIANS WILL SEEK SIMILAR APPROVAL FROM THEIR GOVERNMENTS.

7. AFTER FINAL AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON THE TEXT, WE FORESEE YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES BRIEFING THE SYG AND SELECTED AFRICAN PERMREPS ON THE LINE WE ARE TAKING WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS. WE ALSO PLAN TO SEND MESSAGES OF EXPLANATION TO SELECTED AFRICAN CAPITALS.

8. THERE FOLLOWS THE PROPOSED TEXT OF A FIVE POWER DEMARCHE:

A. THE GOVERNMENTS OF FRANCE, THE UNITED KINGDOM, CANADA, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES, IN VIEW OF THEIR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES AS MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, HAVE JOINTLY REVIEWED THE PROBLEM OF NAMIBIA.

B. THE GOVERNMENTS ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED BY THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA AND AGREE THAT PROGRESS IS URGENTLY REQUIRED TO ACHIEVE AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT. THE GOVERNMENTS NOTE FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S REPLY TO THE EC-9 THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, TOO, SEES VIRTUE IN CONTINUED DISCUSSIONS.

C. THE GOVERNMENTS BELIEVE THAT A NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT MUST BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT NOW BEING CONSIDERED BY THE TURNHALLE CONFERENCE DOES NOT MEET THE STANDARDS OF INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE AND ONLY A FINAL SETTLEMENT WHICH IS BASED UPON THE CONDITIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385 CAN

OBTAIN INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE.

D. THE CONDITIONS FOR A SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA ARE CONTAINED IN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385. THESE CONDITIONS INCLUDE AN EARLY EXERCISE BY ALL THE INHABITANTS
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OF NAMIBIA OF THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION THROUGH A FULLY DEMOCRATIC PROCESS UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE PEACEFUL PARTICIPATION OF ALL POLITICAL GROUPS, INCLUDING SWAPO, IN THIS PROCESS. THE RESOLUTION ALSO CALLS FOR AN END TO SOUTH AFRICA'S

ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY, RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THE RETURN TO THE TERRITORY OF NAMIBIANS LIVING IN EXILE.

E. IT IS THE VIEW OF THE GOVERNMENTS THAT INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS UNDER UNITED NATIONS AUSPICES CONTINUE TO BE THE BEST WAY TO BRING THE PARTIES TO AN AGREEMENT ON HOW THE PROCESS TO INDEPENDENCE SHOULD PROCEED.

F. THE GOVERNMENTS WISH TO HAVE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS ON HOW THE CONDITIONS FOR AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT WILL BE MET.

G. THE GOVERNMENTS HAVE NOTED THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S REFERENCE TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL IN ITS RESPONSE TO THE EC-9 AND WOULD WELCOME THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS ON HOW HIS GOOD OFFICES COULD BE USED IN WORKING TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT.

H. THE GOVERNMENTS WISH TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF EARLY SOUTH AFRICAN AGREEMENT TO PURSUE A SETTLEMENT WHICH WILL MEET THE FOREGOING PRINCIPLES AND BE INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE, THE GOVERNMENTS WILL BE OBLIGED TO RECONSIDER THEIR PREVIOUS POSITIONS REGARDING PROPOSALS FOR STERN ACTION BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND WILL BE COMPELLED TO EXAMINE A NEW RANGE OF MEASURES INTENDED TO OBTAIN SOUTH AFRICAN COMPLIANCE WITH APPLICABLE RESOLUTIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL CONCERNING NAMIBIA.

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

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FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 057868 ACTION USUN NEW YORK
INFO LONDON PARIS BONN OTTAWA CAPE TOWN 15 MAR 77

QUOTE

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CONCERNING NAMIBIA.

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Disposition Approved on Date:
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